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RADICAL THEOLOGY

From Honest-to-God to God-Is-Dead

Richard P. McBrien

GERMANY'S RADICAL RIGHT

Adolph Schalk

THE CHURCH IN ARGENTINA

Richard O'Mara

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NEWS AND VIEWS

From a Reuters dispatch on South Vietnam Premier Ky's mid-August press conference in Manila: "Referring to earlier reports quoting him as saying Hitler was his idol, Premier Ky said this was not exactly what he meant. He said that when somebody asked him what South Vietnam needed to unify its people, he had answered a 'strong man' and had pointed out that Germany under Hitler was able to rise and grow strong. Besides, he said, amid laughter, he did not like Hitler because 'he was not handsome and not a lady-killer.' "

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In recent months, the United States forces in Vietnam have been losing one aircraft a day and 600 dead and wounded men per week. If this trend continues, by the 1968 elections we will have lost between 1000 and 1500 airplanes and 60,000 dead or wounded.

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The official Soviet propaganda line on Christ is simply that He never existed. But *Herder Correspondence* reports that Soviet scholars are now prepared to concede the historicity of Christ, thus admitting that for many years atheist propaganda has been based on an error. A. Kazhdan, a historian, has rejected the fraud theory of the origins of Christianity, and suggests that psychological, social and political pressures combined to produce a potent religious legend around the historical figure of Christ. He accepts the Gospels as transcriptions of an authentic oral tradition: "Had the Gospels been an intentional forgery, they would hardly contain so many contradictions. . . . The most likely conclusion is that the Gospels go back to oral traditions which, vague and imprecise as they are, reflect a definite fact."

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Delegates to the annual India Science Congress recently went on record as favoring nuclear weapons for India. The Voice of the *Indian Engineer* reports: "The scientists wanted the national interest to be given priority over any international posture based on the myth of peace. The consensus was that India did have the technological capability to produce the bomb and its production cost would not be unbearable."

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According to a hate sheet received here, the town of Greenwood, Miss., is exploding in an orgy of pro-integration activity, with Communists, Catholics, Beatniks, doctors and unions leading the way. For those who have never had the satisfaction of hearing Catholics condemned for excessive zeal of this sort, we print some excerpts:

"For years, the Negro Roman Catholic Center on Ave. I has been turning out huge quantities of anti-white, anti-protestant, pro-communist literature, and its so-called 'priest,' Father ———, is known to have several negro 'girl friends' in his harem out there. His presence in Greenwood has long ago ceased to be necessary or desirable. The cesspool known as St. Francis Mission out on highway 82 is also a hot bed of integration and agitation. It could and should be removed from the scene and would never be missed.

"The 'Good Catholics' of Greenwood say nothing can be done about these things so we suggest that concerned Protestants join with them and set about correcting these situations. We are sorry to have to conclude that the Catholic Church as a whole has a sorry record indeed so far as this Godless Pro-Communist integration movement is concerned, Good Roman Catholics must set about to get their house in order before some one else has to do it for them."

Also coming in for a few whacks were "our funny little Catholic chief of the Auxiliary Police," "Catholic ex-ball-player" Danny McDevitt of the Poverty Program, the despicable Holiday Inn, LeFlore Hospital, the Head Start Program, "Walter Ruther and James Hoffa who would socialize America," the LeFlore Theater, and "a sun-baked Ubangi named Stokley Carmical," whose cry of "black power" must be met with massive doses of "Black powder" from the guns of "white, Christian patriots."

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An ecumenical newspaper, edited by Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists, will be published in Washington, England (the home of George Washington's ancestors). It will be known as the Washington *Post*.

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"Negroes today are in worse economic shape, live in worse slums, and attend more highly segregated schools than in 1954 . . . more Negroes are unemployed (and) the rate among Negro youths has increased to 32%." —Bayard Rustin

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Gregory Baum, in the July-August issue of the *Ecumenist*: "Respect for the freedom of the individual should eventually lead the Catholic legislator to acknowledge mixed marriages contracted outside of the Church as valid, even if illicit. If an unmarried Catholic decides to enter into marriage with another person in a way acceptable to civil society, then the Church should respect his freedom sufficiently to acknowledge this as a valid marriage, even if she regards it as a grave transgression to celebrate marriage, which she regards as a sacrament, outside of, or in separation from, the Catholic Church."

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Raymond D. Senter, writing in the *New Republic*, suggests that the Soviet Union may have quietly given up the race for the moon. He points out that it has now been eighteen months since the Russians sent up a manned spacecraft, that there is no evidence of Russian work on the kind of giant rocket booster necessary to the moon-shot, and that the long-expected Russian attempt to rendezvous in space has not yet been made. He writes that the Soviets may have made their decision in 1963—the Soviet suggestion that year for a joint moon probe (not taken seriously by the United States) may have been a last attempt to get in on the glory of a moon shot without investing the billions needed at home. JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

For a Change

Palo Alto, Calif.

To the Editors: I'm inclined to agree with Marguerite P. Corcoran's suggestion (Letter, August 19) that the name of the "National Shrine" should be changed. How about "Immaculate Shrine of the National Collection"? FRANK KOCH

Christians and Jews

West Lafayette, Ind.

To the Editors: The review of *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism* by Paul Hanley Furfey (September 2) is insightful. Glock and Stark do overstate their case. The close causal relationship between Christian beliefs and modern day anti-Semitism is never scientifically proven. Despite the many tables, this volume depends upon heart as much as upon science for the direct link between Christian beliefs and anti-Semitism.

While Glock and Stark never conclusively prove their hypothesis, the response of Paul Furfey suggests that the Christian world is defensive about the whole question of the role of the Jews and the crucifixion of Jesus. Despite all the good will in the world on the part of learned scholars, who now declare that the Jews, as a people were never guilty of deicide, such statements will not pacify the masses. Paul Furfey writes: "Whoever dares to face the facts objectively, all the facts, will indeed be disgusted at the actions of the mob which howled for the death of Christ and he will accept the fact that this mob was composed of Jews."

Such a position based clearly upon New Testament passages serves as fodder for anti-Semitism. No one is questioning the fact that anti-Semitism existed before Christianity, but much hatred still is expressed because of the supposed role of the Jews in the death of Jesus. . . .

The writers of the Gospels stress the kindly gesture of Pilate to set Jesus free. It is important to recall that the New Testament was written by men who lived as a Christian minority in the Roman Em-

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VOTE IN VIETNAM

Was the Vietnamese vote the "smashing victory" that Premier Ky claimed for himself? It is true that the turnout fulfilled the best American hopes—eighty percent of the registered voters cast ballots. Yet only about half of the population over eighteen was eligible, and "less than 15 percent" of the voters cast blank protest ballots. If the protest vote was around nine or ten percent, this would mean that the "massive turnout" involved about one-third of the voting-age population.

Other factors reduce the luster of Premier Ky's claim as well. For instance, we have little more than his word for it that the vote was as high as it was. Then too, the vote looked like a primary for the military faction. The only choice was between nearly indistinguishable supporters of the Premier's general policy. Even so, the balloting was a gain, though a modest one. Apparently a crushing boycott of the polls by registered voters was avoided. And the door is now open to a genuine civilian government that could gradually detach itself from the elusive military solution and the kind of mentality that single-mindedly seeks one.

If there is any truth at all that Washington is restrained from negotiating with the Viet Cong by the intransigence of the fragile Ky regime, then the Johnson Administration should push hard to guarantee the freedom of the forthcoming constituent assembly. Despite Premier Ky's disavowals, there is a danger that true civilian control in the South will be undermined or constantly postponed by a military leadership more interested in placating American objections than in actually yielding control. Only American pressure can assure that what many consider to be a ploy actually turns out to be a return to civilian rule.

American interests continue to demand stability in the South *and* a climate for negotiations. Under Ky, it is doubtful that negotiations with the Viet Cong will be possible without disruption or collapse of his regime. But the negotiations must take place. On the one hand, it is illusory to think that an American military "victory" is possible in Vietnam; on the other hand, we are too deeply committed to come away with nothing at all. The same is true of Hanoi. If the

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Johnson Administration takes seriously the possibilities that a new civilian regime can bring, the climate necessary for negotiations may finally develop.

There are various reports that U.S. and Vietcong representatives have already met secretly several times. This would imply that President Johnson's repeated refusal to deal with the Vietcong owes more to the veto of the Saigon military regime than to his own personal entrapment in a woefully inadequate public stance. It further implies that the road back to sanity will not be taken until the Saigon generals are out of the political picture. With the United States now prosecuting the war almost singlehandedly, the Saigon army has lost much political ground. The massive American presence also means that an independent civilian government need not fear the Saigon army if it had all-out support from Washington.

The United States has had many "last chances" in Vietnam, and the current last chance is civilian rule in the South. Otherwise we are back to the military conception and the military solution. The logic of this mentality grows ever more ominous. Now we hear that an "Inchon landing" in the North could bring a speedy end to the war. The idea apparently comes from the same analysts who have been consistently wrong about ending the war for years. The dangers of invading the North are staggering and obvious. The impatience of Americans may yet produce such an invasion. It depends on the will of the President to resist escalation in favor of the less glamorous but eminently more sensible option of backing civilian rule in the South and pressing for negotiations.

USING CHURCH WEALTH

For some months now, the Church has nervously skittered on the edge of a full-blown debate about the proper use of its wealth. But somehow it never gets started in earnest. After a few brief flurries at the Council—marked by the aborted suggestion that less episcopal pomp and luxury wouldn't be a bad idea—the issue was promptly forgotten. Despite the innumerable complaints over the last decade that the Church has been too much concerned with institutional structures and facilities, the building goes on as furiously as ever. If the post-conciliar Church has been enlivened by new arguments and directions, they have by no means chased away the abiding concern for money and more money. The diocesan building "drive," the parish school "campaign," the orphanage or hospital "plan" remain an integral part of Catholic life.

Isn't this odd, especially if the Church is looked at from a biblical perspective? And odder still if the Church's lavish denunciations of "materialism" are taken into account? Well, not so odd, really. The Church has usually made a neat distinction in practice between the kind of self-denial and mortification laudable in individuals and the virtues suitable for the Church as an institution. Only in the most timid way has the Church ever toyed with the possibility that it might be required to forego material gains for the sake of Christian witness and service.

The trouble of course is that hardly anyone looks upon a school drive or a parish building campaign as an instance of "materialism" or worldly gain. Such things are explained as simple material necessities, by no means symptomatic of spiritual faintheartedness. In a recent general audience (Aug. 31), Pope Paul observed "that an abundance of economic goods in many cases is more harmful than helpful to the Church." These are wise words, but the chance that any diocesan building director or superintendent of schools will see them as applicable to his duties seems exceedingly slight. The Pope also urged that the Church not forget the traditional value of mortification. But by mortification he seems to have meant personal mortification, not institutional mortification.

The idea of a Church which mortifies itself—which would give away to the poor money it could spend for schools, or curtail parish building plans for the sake of low-cost housing in needy areas, or allow the promotion of overseas relief programs to usurp parish money-raising ventures—has, to say the least, never caught on. In fact, it seems rarely to have occurred to anyone. So much is it taken for granted that the Church must look first to its own institutional needs that any other suggested order of priority would probably strike most Catholics as bizarre. Not wrong-headed or imprudent, but just bizarre.

Let us try on some priority reversals for size. We could start with this rule of thumb for potential Church contributors: give the Church only that money which is left over after responding generously to crucial secular requests. Next, if asked to contribute to a diocesan building fund, look about the community first to see whether there is a minority group housing project which needs your money even more than the diocese. Or suggest to your pastor that the envelope system be used to support poor Catholics in Asia or Latin America and that only an occasional second collection be taken up for the running of the parish.

As we said, it would seem bizarre—mortification always does.

THE FACE OF CHINA

Our scientific instruments are surveying the faces of extra-terrestrial bodies. But of China, that society of 700 millions, now shaking itself out from head to foot in self-discipline or self-torture, we have only haphazard glimpses.

For the West, China's "cultural revolution" is a series of images, still-photos flashed on the movie screen, for which we must create the continuity ourselves. We see the demonstrations, millions marching and chanting, proclaiming a collective will we have no precedents to measure. We hear the crescendo of condemnations. We watch

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the nervous neighbors back away from a feverish associate: the Japanese Communists take their distance; North Korea declares its independence; Hanoi orders its officials not to emulate the "cultural revolution."

Images—brief and puzzling. Little things. The curse "foreign devils" appears on the walls; it has not been seen since 1949. Chess is banned. Cigarettes and alcohol disappear from the stores. Convents, churches, Buddhas, and television stations are attacked, Czechoslovakian and East German diplomatic personnel are beaten. A statue of Liberty, over the tomb of past Chinese revolutionaries, is smashed by the youths of the Red Guard. Liberty is a bourgeois pretext for crimes.

Not that we lack explanations, of course. Almost thirty years, to the month, before China's recent explosion, Russia started down the same road with the first Moscow trial. The same explanations are available: xenophobia . . . ideological madness . . . struggle for power . . . totalitarianism's inherent terror . . . social unanimity demanded by the hardships of industrialization, or war.

We can also refer to more peculiarly Chinese explanations. Upheavals at the time of an emperor's death are familiar to China's history. We are warned of the profound difference between traditional Chinese values and the West's. The Chinese word "freedom," it is said, for example, has a pejorative sense.

Yet each explanation carries its own temptation. Each has its own history, and serves its own ends. This one builds more bombs. That one justifies the unjustifiable. Another one simply hides harsh facts amidst layers of complications. The hypocrite pretends the world has never known any other brutality, while the apologist savors up the brutality of centuries in order to justify this one last "necessary" outburst.

With the explanations come the calculations. Unlike repression in an Argentina or a Spain, the events in China have a global significance. The mobilization of China has been a symbol of hope to vast portions of mankind. Even in the U.S. during the last few years, China's accomplishments have been widely admired and its excesses accounted to its unique culture and history or the extraordinary breadth and depth of its miseries. This view will now be reassessed. The merits and costs of various methods of rapid industrialization will be totted up once again. The blood of Manchester mills and Siberian camps, of depressions and famines will be once more measured out and placed in the debit and credit columns. The world balance of power will be analyzed anew. How can this triangle of Washington, Moscow, and Peking resolve itself for peace rather than war?

Amid all the calculations, who will remember the American-trained Chinese doctors whom the Red Guard subjected to "self-criticism" and hung with signs—"reactionaries," "demons"? Who will remember the head of a Peking mosque, beaten and forced to confess his "crimes"? Who will remember the Chinese officials at every level who have been replaced and whose fate is unknown, save by Peking's pronouncement that opponents of the cultural revolution should be "crushed"? Who will remember those saddest victims of all, the generation of youth learning to hate on command?

China is so heavy with its millions of souls, its centuries of experience, that neither in Chinese thoughts nor in ours do these fellow humans seem to count for much. When China suddenly stirs, we see the movement of history before our eyes. For those committed to love as the ultimate moving force of history, the sight, thus far, is extremely painful.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE NATIONAL MOOD

Although the record of this year's session of Congress has been a disappointment, particularly when compared to the achievements of last year, the broader outlook is distinctly encouraging. In the past decade, the United States has demonstrated that a liberal democracy can reform its own abuses.

There have not been the radical social changes that would satisfy those who want a thorough reconstruction of business, government and other institutions, but this was scarcely to have been expected in a society that is so wealthy and stable. What has occurred is substantial renovation and progress toward justice within the existing social framework.

This period of change began, unexpectedly enough, with the Russian launching of Sputnik in 1957. That technological feat shook the country out of its complacent sense of superiority and induced a re-examination not only of the space program but also of the nation's efforts in a broad range of activities. Significantly, the first legislative move to result from this post-Sputnik reappraisal was the Defense Education Act of 1958. The greatly expanded space program, which now runs at a $5 billion annual rate, still outstrips federal spending on education but not by much. From one vantage point, the moon race can be viewed as an enormous waste of resources but its usefulness in reshaping the public mood ought not to be ignored. The Sputnik furore gained an audience for the Rockefeller Reports of the late 1950's, induced General Eisenhower to appoint a commission on national goals, and helped create the receptive psycholog-

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ical climate for John F. Kennedy's 1960 battle cry: "Let's get this country moving again."

The mild economic recession of 1957-58 also contributed to the new mood of the nation's middle classes. The downward economic drift helped elect the overwhelmingly Democratic Congress of 1959-60. That Congress produced very little in the way of constructive legislation; its most important measure was the Landrum-Griffin Act, a piece of restrictive labor legislation. But that Congress provided a forum through its committee hearings and its inconclusive floor battles in which progressives in both parties were able to argue their ideas. It was the first time that had been possible since the Korean War and the McCarthy phenomenon stalemated discussion of all domestic issues. In the past six years, during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, most of these ideas have been translated into legislation.

The legislative events of recent years have accurately borne out the prophecies made in the late 1950's by politicians such as the late Adlai Stevenson and intellectuals such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and John Kenneth Galbraith. They forecast that the 1960's would be a period like the Progressive Era of 1900 to 1914, that is, a time when the middle classes in the midst of general prosperity would move to remedy specific abuses and areas of neglect and would do so, not out of economic desperation as in the 1930's, but because of the promptings of conscience. The civil rights movement beginning with the gallant Southern Negro student sit-ins in the spring of 1960 and continuing through the great marches—to Washington in 1963, from Selma to Montgomery in 1965, and through Mississippi this year—has been the most important single force in disturbing and challenging the nation's conscience.

Writers have played a critical part. Michael Harrington's *The Other America* on poverty, Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* on pesticides, and Ralph Nader's *Unsafe At Any Speed* on automobile safety have been as important as the works of Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, and other muckraking writers were in the Progressive Era. No one who cares about the vitality of democracy and the value of the individual person can fail to be heartened by Nader's astonishing success in facing down General Motors, the richest and most powerful private corporation in the world, and persuading Congress to pass federal legislation regulating the manufacture of automobiles. The Nader story contradicts the sociological platitudes that were too easily accepted in the 1950's about the United States becoming a society of giant corporations and faceless white collarmen in which the individual conscience was impotent to affect the drift of social forces. The gigantism undeniably exists as do the endless ranks of corporation men, but political democracy is not without its own resources and vitality.

Concern with the environment has been a swelling theme in the politics of recent years. Polluted water, smog-poisoned air, cities congested with slowly moving traffic and scarred with ugly slums, and the inadequacy of space for recreation as well as of wilderness solitude even in the national parks—these and similar problems have begun to reach the top of the Congressional agenda, now that the long quarrels over federal aid to education and Medicare have finally been resolved. Although the environmental issues affect everyone, they are characteristically middle-class issues because the rich can afford to insulate themselves against these evils and the poor are preoccupied with the more urgent questions of getting a job or holding one and of paying this month's rent.

In political terms, there is no reason why these environmental issues could not have served the Republican Party rather than the Democrats. Indeed, the failure of General Eisenhower and Richard Nixon to spot these issues and identify the G.O.P. with them probably goes far to account for the steady decline of the Republican Party in these last years. It is true that making headway on cleaning up the environment often involves conflict with the business community, which is the core of Republican Party strength. But as Democratic Presidents have shown in their dealings with labor unions and as Theodore Roosevelt demonstrated during the Progressive period in his jousting with the business magnates, it is possible for political leaders to hold the support of a powerful interest group without giving them everything they want or catering to all their prejudices. Moreover, some gains for the environment are being made with the expenditure of public funds even though businessmen are the initial offenders. For example, industry is largely, though not exclusively, responsible for polluting rivers and lakes. But since if they were forced to clean up their pollution they would simply pass the burden to the consumer in higher prices, Government at both the state and federal levels has about concluded that it is simpler and faster for the public to pay for cleaner water directly through taxes or indirectly through tax credits for businessmen who build anti-pollution facilities. Only the Eisenhower Administration's obsession with balancing the Federal Government's cash budget prevented it from seeing this fairly simple point. As a result, Democrats such as Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine and Representative John Blatnik of Minnesota have become identified with the clean water issue, and the Republican record in Congress was until very recently largely negative.

The middle-class reformism of recent years in civil rights, education, urban mass transit, antipoverty, auto safety, and improvement of the environment is, by its very nature, diffuse and somewhat spasmodic. Eventually, the impulse will get played out. A time of conservative quietism will follow before that impulse is renewed. The coming Congressional and state elections may provide clues as to whether this decade's progressivism still strongly persists or is beginning to ebb.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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RADICAL THEOLOGY

From Honest-to-God to God-Is-Dead

RICHARD P. McBRIEN

Thomas J. J. Altizer has recently published the clearest and most unequivocal statement of "death-of-God theology" that has yet to appear: *The Gospel of Christian Atheism* (Philadelphia: Westminster). Paul Van Buren, in his *Secular Meaning of the Gospel*, insists that the word "God" is meaningless, that we must be prepared to dispense with all forms of "God-talk." William Hamilton, even in his second, revised edition of *The New Essence of Christianity*, continues to speak of a God who has withdrawn from the world and he exhorts us to live *as if* God does not exist. Altizer alone proclaims the actual death of God.

According to Altizer, God is not absent. He is not merely in eclipse. It's not simply a question of language and terminology. The problem of images (whether God is "up there" or "out there" or "down there") is really beside the point. God is dead. He died in history, on the Cross. God once existed; he no longer exists. And it is time for Christians to recognize this fact. We are liberated *from* the power and restraining force of a transcendent God, a God who rules and a God who judges. We are liberated *for* a life of total engagement in the terrestrial and profane order. Christians can now be secular radicals because God is dead.

Much of the comment about "death-of-God theology" has centered its attention on the theological or doctrinal aspects of the movement. Is God dead or isn't he? In what sense is he dead? How can we re-think the reality of God in the light of modern philosophy and the present course of cultural history? Some theologians are pleased, no doubt, that the attention of the Church has been re-directed to the central and fundamental question of God's existence, or that the "death-of-God" stir is challenging Christian theologians to adopt a more theoretical posture (as opposed to what might be described as a "creeping biblicism"). But others, who are more concerned with the impact and effectiveness of the Church's mission in the world, are annoyed by the introduction of another "religious" question, which is diversionary in character because it comes at the moment when the Church is preparing, at long last, to "move out" and to assume her responsibilities in and for the "secular city."

As a matter of fact, the primary concern of the "death-of-God theologians" is not doctrinal, but ethical. And their theological point-of-reference is not God (dead or alive), but Christ as "the man for others." To be faithful to the ethical stance of Jesus, to stand at his side in the service of humanity, demands the renunciation of religion and the repudiation of the Church. "Death-of-God theology" assumes, in other words, that commitment to the world cannot co-exist with a commitment to the transcendent Lordship of God in Christ, and that genuine secularity is an impossible posture for a Christian who continues to take seriously the reality of the Church as the Body of Christ.

For Paul Van Buren, all theology must be reduced to Christology (Karl Barth will be able thereby to recognize at least some vestige of his own influence on his former student). "God-talk" must be set aside. God, for us, is simply Jesus. And faith in Jesus is essentially an ethical stance. It means living as a "man for others," living without regard to self, and being caught up in the contagion of Jesus' own freedom. In this view, the Church cannot be called the "Body of Christ" in a descriptive sense. The theological and biblical designation is merely "a reference

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to the historical perspective which the members presumably have in common, and it suggests the harmony that would exist between people who shared this perspective."

William Hamilton's starting-point is different from Van Buren's, but his orientation and ethical concerns are similar. What has occurred in our time, he argues, is that the biblical portrait of God (and, therefore, the Reformation portrait of God) has deteriorated to such a point that it is no longer meaningful or acceptable to modern man. The real significance of the Reformation is now becoming clear. It was not primarily a theological or psychological event, but an ethical revolution. The Protestant Reformation meant not so much the discovery of the righteous God (the *theological* dimension) or the victory of the autonomous religious personality (the *psychological* dimension) as the fact that the Church moved from the cloister to the world, toward the world and away from religion (the *ethical* dimension). We now find ourselves in the position of waiting for God. God has withdrawn, is absent. In the interim period, our obedience is to Jesus. But Jesus is not an object of faith. He is a *place to be*—at the side of the neighbor. And what is the relation of this radical theology to the Church? "I do not see how preaching, worship, prayer, ordination, the sacraments can be taken seriously," Hamilton has written. The "Body of Christ" is irrelevant to the task of secular mission.

Altizer employs a more grandiose intellectual approach to the question of the death of God, although the ethical implications are not sharply or adequately delineated. Employing the dialectical system of Hegel, he suggests that Spirit had to negate itself to become its opposite other, Flesh. The process of negation began with creation and continued with each revelation-event in the Old Testament. The decisive moment occurred at the Incarnation, and specifically on the Cross. At that point, Spirit completely emptied itself and became fully identified with its opposite other. And somehow, at the end of history, there will be a reappearance of Spirit in a new synthesis of Spirit and Flesh. In the meantime, our task is to embrace the profane and the secular, to seek out "the epiphany of the Word in every human heart and hand."

According to Altizer's diagnosis, the twentieth century has seen the collapse of the idea of transcendence. The radical Christian must share the agony of modern man and live without God. He must renounce liturgy and doctrine. He must repudiate the sovereign Creator and the transcendent Lord. The Christian must seek, instead, a total union with Jesus, but not with the Jesus of the New Testament. He is beyond recall and is irrelevant, in any case. The manifestation of the Word is "in every human heart and hand."

In all three instances, the line of thinking proceeds from the abolition of God (understood differently by each of the three men), through the affirmation of Jesus as "the man for others," and on to the demands of our secular involvement, which is the distinctive ethical dimension.

The first assumption of "death-of-God theology," and more specifically of "death-of-God" ethics, is that the ethical commitment depends upon, and flows organically, from, the doctrinal presuppositions: the negation of God and the repudiation of the Church. And, secondly, that it is, for all practical purposes, impossible to affirm the values of the secular order without making a declaration of independence from traditional theology; or, inversely, that "orthodox" Christian theology cannot support an authentic Christian radicalism. I am about to suggest that these assumptions cannot be sustained, theologically or empirically.

Is it really possible to adopt the doctrinal position of the "death-of-God" proponents without constructing an *ersatz* version of the Gospel? Can a Christian ethic simply dispense with Christian doctrine: the Trinity, original sin, grace, the sacraments, prayer, the Church—indeed, all transcendental reality? John Macquarrie, a Heideggerian and Bultmannian student of the first rank, notes in his recently-published *Principles of Christian Theology*, that "a Christian theology can no more fly in the face of the mainstream of tradition than it can in the face of scripture. To deny fundamental doctrines, like that of the Trinity; to reject the creeds; to set aside the beliefs of the early councils of the still undivided Church—these may be actions to which individuals are impelled by their own thinking on these matters, but they cannot take place in Christian theology, for they amount to a rejection of the history and therefore of the continuing identity of the community within which Christian theologizing takes place."

What we are confronted with here, it seems to me, is a kind of Gnosticism, wherein it is asserted that for the first eighteen centuries or more the central truth of theology was not and could not have been known by the general body of Christians, that, in fact, it was not until the maturation of historical consciousness in the nineteenth century that this fundamental insight was achieved through the efforts of Hegel, Nietzsche, and William Blake. This is stretching things a bit.

Secondly, if "God-talk" is meaningless and irrelevant to modern man and an obstacle to his total involvement in the secular and profane order, then by what logic do we substitute "Christ-talk" or "Jesus-talk" for "God-talk"? On what basis, do we assign a unique function to Jesus? Why is he the ultimate point of reference at all? Must the secular humanist swallow "Jesus-talk" to make sense of his profane enterprises? Will he, indeed, accept "Jesus-talk" any more readily than "God-talk"?

Of course, Jesus must be central to theology. And his redemptive work cannot be understood adequately unless it is viewed as a fulfillment of the role of the Suffering Servant of God. The Christian cannot be faithful to Christ if he does not live as a "man for others," as a suffering servant of God in the service of humanity. Nor can the Church be a truly priestly community if it is not, at the same time, a Servant Church. But must we jettison the

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whole New Testament and the first eighteen centuries of Christianity to adopt this point of view? Dietrich Bonhoeffer, to whom each of the "death-of-God theologians" lay claim, did not feel compelled to do so. And if the work of Bishop John A. T. Robinson proves nothing else, it demonstrates that it is possible to adopt a radical posture with regard to the mission of the Church and the task of the individual Christian, without thereby "selling-out" on the New Testament concept of the Church as the "Body of Christ." His writings prove further that what is theologically indefensible in the "death-of-God" hypothesis is also empirically invalid. The theological radicalism of Bishop Robinson renders implausible the assumption of the "death-of-God" group that traditional Christian theology, particularly with reference to the *nature* of the Church, is so hopelessly mythological, inflexible, and narrow that it cannot sustain any radical position with regard to the *mission* of the Church in the world.

Bishop Robinson's Latest

Robinson's argument, as developed especially in his latest book *The New Reformation?* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), runs in this fashion: to larger and larger numbers of our generation the Christian Gospel, in the manner and form in which it is preached, is no longer the good news, and the Church, to the extent that she is identified exclusively with the function of preaching the Word and duly administering the sacraments, has become progressively more irrelevant. The world of today is *not* asking the question of the Reformers: "How can I find a gracious God?" But it *is* asking: "How can I find a gracious neighbor?" It begins not from revelation, in which it has no prior confidence, but from relationships, which it is prepared to treat with greater seriousness than any generation before it. And it proceeds inductively, from the evidence of experience, rather than deductively, from the certainties of authority. The question with which we are presented is this: "How *in this situation* is the Gospel of Christ to be preached and what is the place of the Church? Is it possible for Christians to accept this shift in the frame of reference—and not to sell out? This, I believe, is a very big question, the biggest question for the future of Christianity in our day. I should be foolish if I returned a confident or simple answer."

The theology which is demanded by this totally new situation is a theology that must start from Christ as the way to the Father. The central text of the old Reformation was the *sola fide* of Luther; for the new Reformation it will be John 14:9—"He who has seen me has seen the Father." But we cannot stop there, for this generation asks the further question: "But, Lord, when did we see you?" (Mt 25:37-39). And the answer to that question is given in the parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Mt 25:32-33), in terms of the Son of Man *incognito*, that is, in terms of "the gracious neighbor." This is a generation of which it might be said that Christ is no longer expected. The situation is similar to those on the road to Emmaus who look back, some with genuine regret, at the Jesus of history as the one who *might have been* the Christ. And yet on the road to Emmaus Jesus did not, and does not, confront us as the Christ, but simply as the stranger who comes alongside in our questioning and our sadness. And "it is only from there, as the man for others and with others, that he can make himself known to them as the Messiah of whom their Scriptures spoke."

The parable of the Sheep and the Goats and the passage depicting the final appearance of Jesus to his disciples by the lake-side in John 21 have a particularly compelling power for our generation, "for they all tell of one who comes unknown and un-invited into the human situation, disclosing himself as the gracious neighbor before he can be recognized as Master and Lord." With these passages, Robinson would link the story of the foot-washing in John 13, "where even to those who call him Lord and Master, he can make known the meaning of that lordship only by becoming the servant of all. . . . It is indeed central to the Christian revelation for any age. For the very meaning of the Incarnation is that the divine enters through the stable door of ordinary human history and everyday experience."

Bishop Robinson proceeds to suggest that the primary task of theology and of the Church in our time could be described as making such a meeting possible again. "For the effect of the Church's work has been to strip the Christ of his *incognito*. It has placarded him to men as the Son of God without allowing them to meet him as the Son of Man." The task of the Church, which is the Body of Christ, is "to *be* this Son of Man on earth, allowing its imperfect incarnation to be judged constantly by *the* Incarnation." And so the Church must be an open society, an "accepting community," whose chief characteristic is that it is prepared to meet men where they are and accept them for what they are. For mankind will ultimately be judged by its own humanity, by what it really means to be a man, and "it will understand that truth and accept it only as it *actually finds itself convicted by the Son of Man on earth*, that is, by the Church as she takes a towel and girds herself, by her ministers and her members as they 'do judgment' for the least of his brethren."

The Church, then, is not simply a circle of light bounded on all sides by darkness, a community of the elect—as the Reformers would have it—gathered apart from and over against the world. And the last thing the Church exists to be is "an organization for the religious," whose main function is "to make or keep men religious." On the contrary, "its charter is to be the servant of the world." And because the Church is not simply a circle of light surrounded by darkness—a circle of light into which as many people as possible must be drawn—our concept of the Church's mission must be re-examined and re-evaluated. The distance of men from Christ cannot be identi-

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fied simply with their distance from the organized Church. "Indeed, it is religious presumption," Robinson observes, "to assume that Christ is in the center of the Church's circle and not in the dark world. Moreover, the question insistently posed by the Gospels is not how far men are from the manifest Church but how far they are from the kingdom of God."

The Church's Mission

The enlargement of the circle of light is not the primary mission of the Church, for this cannot be substantiated by the witness of the New Testament. While the New Testament does point toward the consummation of all things *in Christ*, it never suggests that all men will be *in the Church*, not within the present age at any rate. In fact, from beginning to end the Bible consistently visualizes the covenant people as a minority instrument of the Kingdom, whose minority status is not a scandal.

The Church, therefore, must make it possible for men and women to meet Christ where they are. It must preach the Gospel to the poor, and, if necessary, in the entirely non-religious terms announced by Jesus, i.e. the release of prisoners and the recovery of sight for the blind—even if they never say, "Lord, Lord"; even if they never make an explicit profession of faith.

Bishop Robinson has aptly described his own theological radicalism in these terms: "The revolutionary can be an 'outsider' to the structure he would see collapse: indeed, he must set himself outside it. But the radical goes to the roots of *his own* tradition. He must love it: he must weep over Jerusalem, even if he has to pronounce its doom . . . This means that the radical must be a man of roots." Those whose acquaintance with Bishop Robinson is limited to *Honest to God* (or to Eric Mascall's *Secularization of Christianity*) may be somewhat skeptical of the depths of his "roots" in Christian theology. It is fashionable to refer to Robinson as a superficial popularizer. The misinterpretation of his work stems, in large part, from the failure to view *Honest to God* in the context of all his writings and from the parallel failure to see that it is in his emerging doctrine of the Church that all his writings are to be evaluated.

Bishop Robinson was a competent and internationally recognized biblical scholar before his consecration as Bishop of Woolwich in 1959. His book *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology* (1952) established his reputation as a careful and responsible student of the New Testament. In an area of ecclesiology so central as this, he is quite comfortably "orthodox." In later writings on the Church as the eschatological community (i.e., a community set "between-the times" in history and a community-in-the-Spirit), he expanded and deepened his ecclesiological perspective (see his *Jesus and His Coming* and his key essay, "Kingdom, Church, and Ministry," in *The Historic Episcopate*).

The Church is the instrument of the Kingdom of God. As the Son of Man Himself existed as a "sign" to "this generation" (Lk 11:30), a sign of the Kingdom, of what God was doing in its midst, so too the primary task of the Church is "to produce not settlements, but 'signs' . . . (and) exists to be the sign, the first fruits, of the New Humanity." The ministry of the Church, including the episcopacy, is a function of this mission and the liturgy, especially the Eucharist, is its summit and source (see his *Liturgy Coming to Life*). It is in the light of all this that we should understand Robinson's most recent definition of the Church in *The New Reformation?*: "It is indeed the dedicated nucleus of those who actively acknowledge Jesus as Lord and have committed themselves to membership and mission within the visible sacramental fellowship of the Spirit." This is a long way from the impoverished ecclesiology of the "death-of-God" triumvirate.

The task for a radical Chirstian theology in our time is to carry through with a program such as Bishop Robinson's, to deepen its theological foundations and to explore further ways of rendering effective service in the secular sphere. Others have addressed themselves to the question of the Church's mission, of her corporate ethical responsibilities, but few have achieved the balance of Robinson. This will seem an extraordinary statement to those who are more concerned with the possibility that Bishop Robinson might be, in the final analysis, a Cartesian. Philosophical nit-picking such as this is totally irrelevant and misses the whole point of Robinson's theological concerns.

Harvey Cox, for example, is superb in indicating the challenges and opportunities in the secular city, but he sits lightly to the notion of the Church as the sacramentally-structured Body of Christ. And, as Robinson himself has written, "it is impossible to be a biblical theologian without at the same time being a High Churchman." Karl Rahner has written of the Church in *diaspora* and Yves Congar of the Church as a minority community in the service of the majority. Both serve to complement and deepen Robinson's perspective, and while they are strong (especially Congar) on the question of the Church's nature, they are less specific in the area of the Church's mission.

"Death-of-God theology," under the guise of Christian radicalism, may be deflecting the attention of the Church from her mission of suffering service. "Rather than helping the prophets greet a religionless, revolutionary tomorrow," Harvey Cox has complained, "some theologians are more interested in dissecting the cadaver of yesterday's pieties . . . We repair to religion either by devoting our talents to the defense of 'God' or by staring in hypnotic fascination at the oblong cavity left by His presumed expiration." This is something of a "sham battle." The real work is being done at that "jagged edge" where even Anglican bishops grapple with the swiftest currents of the age.

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How serious a threat?

GERMANY'S RADICAL RIGHT

ADOLPH SCHALK

The *Life*-like French illustrated *Paris-Match* recently created a scandal through the publication of photos of alleged neo-Nazi gatherings in Munich. According to exposés made by a number of West European Communications' media, *Match* reporters persuaded several French students to don rented SS uniforms, then photographed them in a posed drinking spree in a room decorated with swastikas and Hitler memorabilia. The British *Daily Express* and Moscow television picked up the "story," while *Match* editors adamantly refused to admit the hoax even after the students themselves publicly acknowledged their participation.

This incident reveals in a bizarre way how difficult it is to "find" examples of obvious neo-Nazi activity in a new Germany that has nothing comparable to the Nazi "movement" of a George Lincoln Rockwell. Even the most critical observer cannot but be impressed by the international spirit that today is genuinely woven into every aspect of West German life, from sports to opera. At the same time, an incident of this type can be very harmful because it tends to obscure the efforts of responsible individuals or institutions seeking to arrive at a true picture of rightist radicalism in the Federal Republic.

In spite of the healthy world-open spirit that appears to characterize the country as a whole, there is no longer any doubt that rightist extremism has been increasing in the German Federal Republic in recent months. In fact, the government itself admits it. In the annual report on extremism published by the Ministry of the Interior, its minister, Paul Luecke, revealed that membership in extremist organizations increased from 22,500 in 1964 to 28,600 in the past year, while their publications jumped in circulation from 43,000 to 227,000 (with the total circulation of the democratic press being, however, well over 22 million). Luecke also revealed that Nazi and anti-Semitic incidents more than tripled in 1965 (521 incidents as against 171 in 1964).

The worst example of the rightist press is the *Deutsche National Zeitung und Soldaten Zeitung* published in Munich. With an estimated weekly circulation of over 100,000 it is reportedly read widely in the *Bundeswehr*, even in officer circles, while being condemned by officials of the armed forces. Its pages are filled with thinly disguised innuendos against Germany's former wartime enemies and the state of Israel. It is blatantly anti-Semitic. Its headlines scream "The Truth About Hitler"—"Capitulation to World Jewry"—"Nazi Trials Ad Absurdum." Up till now government officials have been unable to find a legal basis for proceeding against the newspaper, which has been roundly condemned in the *Bundestag*.

The big question is: Just how deep does the extremist wave run? Is it a touch of flu or a growth of cancer?

According to government spokesmen, this is only an eruption of a tiny segment of the German population and could even be a healthy outlet for pent-up frustrations. A publication of the West German press office (*Bulletin*, March 14, 1966) stated that "analysts agree on the basis of new figures that rightist radicalism stands no chance of becoming influential in the Federal Republic. . . . It has very little effect on the inhabitants of the free part of the nation, even though last year its organizations were more active than usual because of the parliamentary elections. Of the 32,620,442 votes cast in those elections, only 2.2 percent were given to candidates of the extreme right." They emphasize that the federal law requires a minimum of 5 percent of the national vote before a political party can be represented in the *Bundestag* (parliament). (But the weekly newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* has been quick to point out that in 1928 Hitler's NSDAP had just as poor a showing.)

Government spokesmen likewise mention the agencies for the protection of the Constitution which painstakingly observe all developments of the rightist camp. Since 1960, German courts have sentenced 733 persons for rightist radical activities.

Worth a Closer Look

The prevailing view of veteran foreign observers appears to be that there is no immediate cause for alarm, but that recent developments bear more than routine examination. The biggest extremist phenomenon in West Germany at present is the NPD, the *Nationaldemokratische Partei,* which is riddled through with eerie simularities to the recent ignominious past. Its first two syllables are pronounced "*Na Zi.*" The first name of its deputy chairman and actual mastermind of the party is "Adolf." The party's fire-red flag contains an empty white circle that requires little imagination to fill it with a familiar

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black symbol. Its slogans "We Must Awaken a National Consciousness," "We Are Tired of Being Shackled in the Pillory of the World," "Enough of German Guilt," and "We Need Men Who Live for Their Folk" are almost plagiarisms of Goebbels' psychological masterpieces. And the ministry of the interior has classified the party officially as a rightist association.

If this were all, most West Germans as well as most observers would merely be amused. Less amusing, however, is the alarming growth rate of the party and a spate of local and regional election gains over the past few months. Less than two years in existence, the NPD has nearly doubled its membership since last fall, from 10,000 to nearly 20,000. In the Socialist city-state of Hamburg the National Democrats captured 3.9 percent of the vote. Earlier the party scored much bigger successes in the Bavarian municipal elections, taking up to 10 percent of the vote in former Nazi strongholds like Nuremberg and Bayreuth.

The most unpleasant surprise of the party is that, unlike its unsuccessful rightist predecessors, its appeal is not limited to the older generation. Thus, while refugees and displaced persons number a disproportionate 28 percent of the party though comprising only 23 percent of the population, more than a third of the members are under thirty, and the majority belong to the middle class. Nearly every West German university has an NPD group. Several of these institutions include as many as 15 percent of the student enrollment, with the University of Giessen having an astonishing 20 percent. In the latter institution, NPD students are in control of a student newspaper which has aroused national concern because of its extreme rightist editorial policy. In a television interview the university rector said he was unable to interfere with the publication.

The NPD leaders, keenly aware of the Federal Republic's strict legislation against neo-Nazi organizations, have vigorously protested against comparisons with the Nazi party. Party chairman Friedrich Thielen has pointed out, with some truth, that there does not seem to be much criticism of former Nazis so long as they are members of the Bonn establishment. "It is only when a functionary of the NPD happens to be an ex-Nazi," he said, "that there is an outcry about the brown spot on his vest."

However that may be, twelve of the eighteen members of the party's executive board are former Nazis and a disproportionate number were high-ranking officers of the SA and SS. Nor is it easy to dismiss as a mere coincidence the party's drum and bugle and torchlight rallies in the same Nuremberg streets where Hitler held his gigantic parades.

Although there is no specific party ideology or platform, the NPD consistently calls for German neutrality, the withdrawal of both American and Soviet troops from the two Germanys, the expulsion of foreign laborers (who are referred to in a disparaging way), the restoration of *Nationalbewusstsein* (national consciousness). It also protests against restitution to Israel, development aid, reconciliation with Poland, recognition of the Oder-Neisse line, German aid to Vietnam, "Americanism," and modern art. It calls for an end to what it considers the "collaborationist" regime in Bonn. It demands an end to Nazi trials. Deputy chairman Adolf von Thadden condemns the German officers who took part in the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Hitler in 1944 as "the real traitors of Germany."

The leaders stammered noncommitally when asked repeatedly at a news conference whether they thought Hitler should have won the war. "We have no uniforms," shouted chairman Thielen, "and we comply strictly with the Constitution."

Numerous labor union, religious and political groups have demonstrated against the party and there has been much talk about prohibiting the NPD. But leading newspapers warn that this could lead to dangerous interference with freedom of speech and would in the end amount to free propaganda for the NPD. A stable democracy, stated an article in the distinguished weekly *Die Zeit* (April 28, 1966), should be able to endure extreme groups of the right or left.

An Inconsistency?

But precisely here the Federal Republic appears to be inconsistent. While every precaution is taken to preserve the rights of rightist extremists, it is curious that the Federal Republic goes to far greater lengths to curtail suspected leftist activities, even though the country is virtually immune from Communist influence. While the NPD freely carries out its activities, the Communist Party is prohibited by law even to exist. While rightist literature is openly sold on the newsstands, and freedom of the press is guaranteed by the Constitution, leftist literature is severely restricted. By means of a strange law called *Verbringungsgesetz* (transport law), customs officials are empowered to confiscate any parcel coming from an Eastern European country and turn it over to the courts, which in turn can dispose of it as they see fit. According to information disclosed at the German book trade conference in Constanz last April, some 800,000 to 1.2 million publications are confiscated monthly under this law.

The apparent success of the NPD cannot be explained merely in terms of a catchall party for old Nazis, disgruntled citizens and naive young idealists. Just as significant perhaps as the NPD's growth is the corresponding growth of disarmament, "ban the bomb" and pacifist movements, especially among the younger generation, some of which were closely associated with the now-banned Communist Party.

Veteran observers attribute the growth of all these groups to a widespread, indefinable unrest that can be detected all over West Germany. There is general dissatis-

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faction with Ludwig Erhard's CDU as well as with the Social Democrats, who do not offer a de facto opposition to the Government. German commentators increasingly speak of these various movements of the right and left as the "unofficial extra-parliamentary opposition."

At the same time the CDU/CSU does not provide for many Germans a genuine outlet for conservative convictions either. There is a growing undercurrent of resentment against the accusing finger of guilt that the outside world relentlessly points at the Germans who feel that the government has failed to restore Germany to a position of self-respect. There is widespread impatience about the lack of action on the reunification question. As NATO disintegrates, many restless politicians are stirring up old antagonisms toward wartime enemies.

Another factor that may help explain the NPD's growth is the apparent decline of the CDU coalition partner, the Free Democratic Party (FDP), third largest in the Federal Republic. Although the FDP gained one seat in the state legislature of North-Rhine-Westphalia in a recent state election, the moderately nationalist party is losing its attraction as the "party of German unity," with the NPD profiting from the loss. In the recent Hamburg elections the Free Democrats lost 2.8 percent of the vote and had to leave the government coalition there. Apparently winning the votes lost by the Free Democrats, the NPD doubled its support in the socialist stronghold. In Northern Bavaria the National Democrats gained almost exactly what the Free Democrats lost. There is speculation now whether the Free Democrats may attempt to become more nationalist in order to compete with the NPD.

It is too early to say whether the NPD may become a permanent feature of West German politics. Other rightist parties have risen to even greater heights (such as the German Party) and subsequently disappeared. An opinion poll conducted by the respected Allensbach Institute revealed that only two percent of the respondents would vote in a national election for the NPD. This, however, is contradicted by another poll conducted by the Institute for Political Science of the University of Cologne jointly with two other professional opinion poll institutes. This poll gave 9 percent to the NPD and 15 percent "sympathy" for rightist parties.

Until recently the mood of the country was characterized politically by stagnation and apathy, as well as a decided antipathy, especially among the young, toward the Bundeswehr. Even liberal politicians who went out of their way to avoid the remotest association with nationalism complained of a total lack of national consciousness. Today one is not so sure. The growing restlessness and the feeling that "something must be done about Germany," the increase of youth demonstrations, pacifists, and extremists of the right, confirm this uneasiness.

Many reputable political observers see these developments optimistically. "It might even be good if the NPD wins the necessary 5 percent of the national vote to place a representative in the *Bundestag*," one editor of a leading newspaper told me. "For this might prod the big democratic parties into more constructive action. A little shaking up might do the country some good."

I asked a Munich taxi driver what he thought of the NPD gains. "You know," he said, "in any country there are always a certain number of people who are soldiers from head to toe. They need regimentation. We don't have a Vietnam to send them to, so they find an outlet in a rightist party."

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JOSEPHINE TRUESCHLER

YOUNGEST SON

In winter the trees go to black twigs
and the cold etches white riddles
on the window.
We light the fire
that flares surprisingly fast
and then seems to confine itself
within our measured caution,
only now and then making a long breath
like heavy cats
roaming and restive in the room.

I know you are only somewhere
between gardens
discovering extravagant danger.
I know that brave blue-eyed look
beneath a miniature helmet
laureled with plastic camouflage
and peril.
I know you are throwing yourself
on the frozen ground
pressing a tin trigger
against the invading wind
striding like a giant down the hill.

But at dinner you will be loud
with victory.
You will swagger like a hero
and smell cold.

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Embrace of Church and State

THE CHURCH IN ARGENTINA

RICHARD O'MARA

A wry critic of the Argentine government protested recently against President Juan Carlos Ongania's discrimination in choosing his cabinet. "I've only got three children. Everybody knows you have to have at least six for a ministerial post!"

This anecdote and several akin to it reflect the consensus among the city's army of government watchers that a strong link exists between the Catholic Church and the military regime of Gen. Ongania. Reenforcing this image is the person of Ongania himself, who is well-known for his stern devotion to his faith. He spent the weeks before the coup of June 28, which deposed Arturo Illia, in retreat at a secluded monastery in Buenos Aires Province. Spiritually refreshed, Ongania went directly from the monk's bare cell to the opulent chief executive suite of the *Casa Rosada*, Argentina's presidential palace.

Ongania met Jorge N. Salimei and Martinez Enrique Paz at one of his earlier retreats. After assuming power, they were his first cabinet appointments, Salimei as both Economy and Labor minister and Martinez Paz as Interior and Education minister. Nicanor Costa Mendez was named Foreign Minister. All three are militant Catholics. After this, Ongania chose his brother-in-law, Navy Capt. Enrique Green, to lead a morality campaign in Buenos Aires. He insisted that Cardinal Antonio Caggiano, Primate of Argentina, be present at all government ceremonies, that he bless everything from new jet planes to computers in the tax bureau.

Already, resistance to a supposed Church-State liaison is being felt. And it is coming from members of the clergy. For those aware of the division in the Argentine Catholic Church over the dictums that came out of the Council, the repudiation of such a connection was expected. Perhaps in no other country has the dispute between Catholic conservatives and progressives expressed itself so dramatically as in Argentina. The most startling manifestation of the split occurred a few months back in the western, wine-growing province of Mendoza. Twenty-seven priests went on strike to protest the appointment of Father Olimpo Maresma as auxiliary bishop of the province. They felt he did not have the qualifications for the job.

The rejection of Bishop Maresma by the 27, now known as "the rebel priests," was an indication of a profound discontent within the Church in Argentina. The Mendoza priests struck against an attitude, the traditional, paternalistic attitude of the Church. That attitude is personified by Bishop Maresma, by the Archbishop of Mendoza, Alfonso M. Buteler, and by many other high-ranking ecclesiastics. As one priest in Buenos Aires put it: "We have one Church and two mentalities."

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The Younger Priests

Many young priests in Argentina feel themselves part of a reformist generation. They believe they have a share in the age that gave rise to the anti-colonial movement, the civil rights fight in the United States, and, to a lesser degree, the idea of the Peace Corps. Specifically, they want more direct contact with the people, more social work in Argentina's slums, more attention to the physical needs of their parishioners.

Some of the bishops and many of the older priests, however, cling to the idea of the Church as a spiritual organization only, based on an inviolable hierarchy of power. Their answer to social problems is that such things are God's will, and it is not the Church's job to try to put things right. They were not pleased with the Council. Archbishop Buteler, for instance, interpreted the Council as merely an exercise in theology. On his return from Rome he asserted that, "The Council was merely a consultation, and only about 200 bishops there knew anything about theology." He even went so far as to say, "The Council chamber was full of heretics." And Bishop Jorge Carlos Carreras of San Rafael, also in Mendoza, did not even bother to attend.

Strictly speaking Catholicism is not the state religion in Argentina. Yet the constitution says the state should "support" the Catholic faith, while allowing the people freedom to practice whatever faith they choose. The constitution also requires that the president and vice-president be Catholics. Cardinal Caggiano receives a monthly salary and expenses from the government, as do all bishops. The national budget always provides money for Church support.

Much resentment against the clergy has been mitigated in recent years by the activities of the progressive element in the Church. Monsignor Miguel de Andrea (who died in 1964) helped establish some lines of communication between the clergy and the working class. His work, and the

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impetus of the Vatican reforms, also brought Church liberals and a large number of middle-class intellectuals closer together. The new cohesiveness between citizen and priest expressed itself through the small, but influential, Christian Democratic Party.

With the military's ascendency to power on June 28, the right wing in the Church received new life. Fathers Julio Meinville and Leonardi Castellani, both extreme anti-Semites and virulent anti-Communists, grew more active and gave their blessings to the activities of Buenos Aires police chief, Capt. Green, who began talking about "eliminating all anti-revolutionary elements," whom he qualifies as "atheistic liberals." *Tacuara* (spear), an anti-Semitic, fascist organization with a long record of terrorism came back into the news, after months of inactivity, with the announcement that, "the new order would be built on the ashes of the liberal system." Other right-wing groups emerged and announced their intention of destroying all "enemies of the revolution." These latter were described mainly as "demo-liberals."

Hysterical Anti-Communism

By early August, Gen. Ongania's government had earned for itself the reputation abroad of a militant Catholic, near fascist regime, a new Franco Spain in America. Contributing to this image is the government's implacable, near hysterical, anti-Communism. This led to the closing of the national universities July 29, and a subsequent police raid on the Faculty of Exact Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires. A large number of students and professors were savagely beaten during that raid. Ongania maintains that the universities—traditionally autonomous and adminstered by a tri-partite government of faculty, alumni and students—were dominated by Communists. Hardly had the smoke cleared from the police raid of July 29, when on August 18 a policeman shot a student in Cordoba City for handing out anti-government literature. The shooting brought on another riot.

The argument that the universities are controlled by Communists is specious. There are Communists in the universities, and as at most other Latin American universities the majority of the students are leftists. The real danger, however, was from the extremists, that small group of terrorists who used the halls and classrooms of the university as a virtual battleground. They are of the left and right.

The first open break between the liberal elements in the Church and the government came on August 14, when *Marcha*, the Uruguayan weekly newspaper, ran an interview with Monsignor Jeronimo Podesta, Bishop of the Buenos Aires suburb of Avellaneda. *Marcha* has been banned from Argentina because of its leftist views. In the interview, Mgr. Podesta said that he believes that Gen. Ongania is subject to the influence of a group of military officers above him, whom he described as "pre-conciliar Catholics." The Argentine president, he said, is an honest man, "with the mentality of the soldier," a man who wants "to run the country like a barracks." "But I insist," Podesta was reported as saying, "that the lines of policy are laid down by that group of officers to whom I referred."

Ongania's regime has been charged with having anti-Semitic tendencies by both the New York *Times* and the *Washington Post*. Asked about this by *Marcha*, Podesta said that he would not use the term, "anti-Semitic," but qualified this by saying, "don't be surprised if you hear that, for example, Jewish doctors are being eased out of the hospitals."

The *Marcha* article caused a stir across the River Plate in Argentina, and shortly afterwards Podesta repudiated it. He did not, however, deny saying what *Marcha* reported, but only that it was printed without his authorization.

Msgr. Podesta is known for his liberal views. He was the originator in Argentina of the "worker-priest" program. Earlier, in July, he expressed fear that the right wing in the Church had too great a say in Gen. Ongania's administration. Later he justified his own fraternizing with Ongania and his cabinet members when asked by newsmen if the Church was not running a risk by associating itself with the government; "It is possible. But it is necessary [to participate] in order to balance the tendencies. There is no doubt that there are groups of the extreme right fighting to gain control."

Shortly after seizing power, Ongania made it known he intended to intervene in the universities. This caused another priest, who asked not to be named, to voice fear over what effect such a move would have: "Anyone can imagine the terrible consequences for the Church's image if the measure is taken in the name of Catholic principles and anti-Communism. . . . It would put the Church in an inquisitional position." The priest also pointed out that the then-rector of the University of Buenos Aires (largest of the eight state universities), Hilario Fernandez Long, is a Catholic humanist, "raised to his position by the vote of professors, alumni and students who are also Catholics and humanists." Fernandez Long resigned July 29, the day the intervention decree was made public. He was followed by over a thousand faculty members, well over half the university faculty.

The attempts by the liberal clergy to disassociate itself from the government continued. Antonio Quarrancino, Bishop of the Province of Buenos Aires, sent a pastoral letter to all churches in the province, which was read at every Sunday Mass starting August 21. It denied any link between the Church and State. Bishop Quarrancino said that two statements from the Ecumenical Council made the Church's position clear: "1. The political community and the Church are independent and autonomous, each with its own field of action. 2. The Church has no intention of mixing in any way in secular government."

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In early July, not long after the coup, Ongania seemed to have the enthusiastic backing of just about every sector of the population. His reputation and obvious devotion to his faith helped build a messianic image, and it was not long before many people, sick with frustration after decades of political instability, began to see the taciturn general as the "savior" of Argentina. The aura of religiosity about the man, the selection of a cabinet whose members had nearly all attended private, Catholic universities (all state universities are secular), helped create in the mind of the people the link between the Church and the government. ("The President has appointed good and just men," quipped Msgr. Podesta. "But now it is time he appointed a few sinners to the government.")

Ongania, however, has lost much of the enthusiastic support he had in the earlier days. Capt. Green's strident morality campaign, the brutality that attended the intervention in the universities, the closing down of *Tia Vicenta*, Argentina's most popular humor magazine, along with other veiled threats against the press (over 30 publications have been banned), have brought a certain amount of political disaffection. There is unrest in the labor sector because the government has failed to slow inflation and stem the cost of living. The business and financial sector has just about lost hope of a relaxation of government exchange and trading restrictions. The resignation of hundreds of university professors and scientists because of the intervention is aggravating already the country's chronic "brain drain," which Ongania promised to stop.

Many political observers feel that the military government of Argentina will blossom into a full-blown tyranny. There are also fears of a counter-coup from some sector of the Armed Forces. Many members of Argentina's extensive middle class are frightened that such a government, especially in a country with proven anti-Semitic tendencies, could possibly betray the Church—as it did in Italy, Spain and Austria—into cooperation with fascism. The fears are there, and each day they grow more real.

AN APPEAL: Mother M. Elisabeth, an Ursuline in North India, seeks funds to build a simple rectangular orphanage which is urgently needed. The orphanage would consist of one dormitory for larger and one for smaller children, a bathroom and a small nursery. It can be built for less than ten thousand dollars. Twelve of her community of fifteen are natives of India. They have a thousand children in their classes, help the poor in the neighborhood and treat a hundred patients daily in their dispensary. People in the locality do well if they have one meal a day. Readers should send checks or money orders to help this hard-pressed community directly to Mother M. Elisabeth, Ursuline Convent, P.O. Gumla, Ranchi Dt., Bihar, India (Airmail: 25¢).

SUMMER FRIENDS

SCREEN

There's no accounting for the sudden rush of new films that turned up on our screens during the past weeks; perhaps the old ones just petered out. In any case, since my space was limited by this magazine's bi-weekly summer schedule I am submitting hasty reports on several current items—so you may know what to see or avoid before the fall season swings into action.

"Time Lost and Time Remembered" is a sensitive and beautifully made movie about an Irish lass who returns to her home town after an unhappy marriage in London and now hopes to pick up again with the boy she left behind five years ago. Under the excellent direction of Desmond Davis (who also wrote the bittersweet screenplay with Edna O'Brien) the picture jumps back and forth in time which makes it somewhat difficult to follow until you get used to its remembrance-of-things-past scheme. But this device, along with the good script and impressionistic photography, gives the film a nice aura of poetic realism. Sarah Miles turns in a fine performance as the ill-fated, lonely girl trapped into marriage with an English prig whom she is fleeing; and Cyril Cusack is superb as her wise friend and mentor. With its somewhat glum story and flights of poetry, "Time Lost" is not for everyone; but it is for those who like a movie that catches well the feel of place and people.

"The Pad (and How to Use It)" is based on Peter Shaffer's one-act play, "The Private Ear," and has been so padded and stretched out of shape that it almost loses its point. "The Private Ear" is about a shy, sensitive young man who has met a girl at a concert, invited her to his apartment for dinner, and has accepted the assistance of his friend, a worldly-wise girl chaser, to cook the dinner and start the evening off well. Although what happens is expected with the extrovert friend winning the girl and leaving the shy, lonely boy lonelier than ever, Shaffer's play has a poignant charm that is quite touching. Expanded and laid on with a trowel, "The Pad" is neither charming nor witty, but a sort of burlesque of the old Harold Lloyd films. Brian Bedford, who played the shy young man in the stage version, performs well again but is too old for the movie, and when he bursts into tears at the finale, the situation is more absurd than poignant. One can only hope that when this dopey guy matures, he'll find a girl as nice and dopey as he is.

"Marco the Magnificent" is one of those overdone international spectacles with an elaborate cast, costumes,

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and scenery, but little thought. It follows the adventures of the thirteenth-century traveler from Venice to China, and while Horst Buchholz, as Marco Polo, appears throughout the long film, most of the other stars turn up in episodes: Orson Welles, Omar Sharif, Gregoire Aslan, Akim Tamiroff, Elsa Martinelli, and many others, and finally in China, Anthony Quinn as Kublai Khan and Robert Hossein as his son. The main trouble with the picture is that it wasn't carefully planned; and the total effect is that of a jumble of unconnected incidents. At the finale, Marco stays in China to absorb some of Kublai Khan's wisdom. Lucky he.

"What Did You Do in the Last War, Daddy?" set in Sicily in 1943, is another of those tasteless and tiresome war comedies making fun of the Americans, Italians, and Germans as fighters, and the Sicilians as non-combatants who are more interested in their wine festival than war. Producer-director Blake Edwards' cast, including James Coburn, Dick Shawn, Sergio Fantoni, and many, many others work overtime to make this burlesque funny. It isn't. And I doubt, even if it had a point, as in "Oh, What a Lovely War," anyone would find it amusing or meaningful.

"An American Dream," which is vaguely based on Norman Mailer's novel, is probably one of those movies that never should have been made. Its opening scenes, in which the TV commentator anti-hero (Stuart Whitman) battles with his vicious rich-bitch wife (Eleanor Parker) and throws her off her penthouse terrace, are as shocking and disgusting as they're meant to be. From then on, the film settles down to a dull tale during which our anti-hero tries to find himself while being pursued by nasty police (in scenes which seem to be supporting the recent Supreme Court decision about questioning suspects) and by a Mafia organization and by various individuals like an ex-girlfriend (Janet Leigh) and his dead wife's wealthy father (Lloyd Nolan). Not one of the characters is admirable. Perhaps the whole picture is meant to be an ironic joke disproving the American dream that everything will come out all right in the end. Nothing comes out right in this movie—in beginning, middle, or end.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

The memoirs of Isaac Singer

In My Father's Court

ISAAC BASHEVIS SINGER

Farrar, Straus, $5.50

MICHAEL FIXLER

A recurring elegaic note sounds in this autobiographical miscellany by the last of the great Yiddish novelists. The world he writes of, the Warsaw Ghetto and Polish Jewry, is dead, and in the survivor the dead evoke a pious reflex of the kind, for example, with which he concludes his reminiscences of Asher, the dairyman on Krochmalna Street who personified for the young Isaac Bashevis Singer all that was simply good: "May these memoirs serve as a monument to him and his like, who lived in sanctity and died as martyrs."

Yes. But the literary appeal of hagiography is limited, and were it not the fact that sanctity is in Singer's world an attribute with a remarkable resonance, the characters who are here resurrected would have a very short literary life. As it is, the sepia tones of sentimentalism in a few of these sketches (originally written as journalistic pieces for New York's *Jewish Daily Forward*), and the very uneven quality of the many-handed translations, make this work the least effective of the eight volumes of his work so far to appear in English.

Singer's memoirs make it clearer than ever that his most significant gifts are not those he deploys as a reporter, historian, or even in that peculiarly Yiddish vein, as a local colorist. Singer is a novelist, a writer of romance in the best sense of that term. The words with which he begins one sketch, "Things would happen in life so fantastic that no imagination could have invented them," do not in fact live up to their promise. His fiction, with its controlled exploitation of the spiritually bizarre, is better reading because it is more freely imagined and artistically shaped. As a boy, Singer lived in a world where the miraculous and wonderful perpetually threatened to intrude. This is the substance of his reminiscences But what counts is the use to which the mature novelist put that legacy.

The childhood world of Isaac Bashevis Singer was either holy, profane, or both, never in any case secular. There was God and the Evil One, with creation, whether natural or supernatural, involved in their contention, the cockpit of it all being his rabbinical father's court room on Krochmalna Street in Warsaw. The rabbinical court room was in Jewish life a unique institution, at once an informal confessional, judgment chamber and general spiritual clearing house. The Singer courtroom was his father's study, just off the kitchen, so that his mother was often called in as a consultant. For the young boy the court brought Krochmalna Street with all its coarse reality into the pale of continual divine supervision. One

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man came regularly to revise the complicated ghoulish ritual of his burial, another tried to sell his share of the hereafter, a third, so poor as to have only one bed in a cellar cave, came in bitter winter to ask if he might sleep with his dead wife until her burial, since the rats would consume whichever of the two had to rest on the ground. The boy witnessed everything.

From his Hasidic father Singer inherited otherworldliness and credulity, from his mother, who was of an even more distinguished rabbinical dynasty, a sceptical rationalism. His mother's origins were in Bilgoray (the Goray of his first novel) where Jewishness was archaic even by the standards of rural, early twentieth-century Poland. There as a refugee from wartime Warsaw, while the imperial worlds of eastern Europe disintegrated, Singer found himself simultaneously reliving an archaic past and facing the future into which he was to mature. On the threshold of maturity (where these memoirs end), came the critical encounter with secularism, as it had for his rebellious older brother, Israel Joshua Singer, who also led the way as a novelist. Among his brother's friends Singer discovered that the Ghetto bordered on Bohemia, that it was "one step from the [talmudical] study house to sexuality and back again."

What brought him back again in the larger sense is what distinguishes his fiction. The Jews about whom he writes, whether Hasidic or fallen away, live in a world which remains inexplicably holy and profane, albeit no longer so in the simplified colors of his childhood. Secularism in his novels seems more and more like an apocalyptic enlargement of the profane, while the psychological matrix of human action thinly conceals that kind of psychic turbulence about which W. B. Yeats, for another, was so eloquent. Singer's spiritual idiom, in short, is demoniacally centered in the best modern tradition, a fact which tends to trouble his Yiddish readers, who are not accustomed to having the existence of God depend upon the assurance of the Devil's existence. It would have troubled no one, however, in Bilgoray, or in the court room on Krochmalna Street.

This Time of Salvation

BERNARD HÄRING

CHARLES E. CURRAN

Herder & Herder, $5.50

One basic theme—the need for openness—characterizes and unifies these essays of Bernard Häring. The professional theologian and the interested Catholic who has closely followed the *aggiornamento* of the Council will find very little new or startling in this book. However, all Christians can profit from meditating again on the liturgical, communitarian, and dynamic dimensions of Christianity which Häring develops.

Häring, more than any other Catholic, has made moral theologians aware of the biblical concept of *kairos,* time in a qualitative sense—the opportune moment prepared by God. The essays are collected under five different headings or *kairoi*: Time of Love, Time of Renewal, Time of Worship, Time of Unbelief, Time of Conversion. The basic assertion of Christianity, the good news, is the proclamation of the saving gift of God to man. Since the true Christian realizes that salvation is primarily God's loving gift to us in Christ, the believer is constantly vigilant and waiting to seize the *kairos.*

Like the Church of Christ, the follower of Christ can never become proud, smug, or triumphal because of his own works, accomplishments, or merits. The ideal of perfection in imitation of God Himself demands a continual conversion; however, continual conversion requires an ever greater openness to the saving love of God in Christ. Christ's unselfish love for us becomes the model of our love for our brothers. Unfortunately, solidarity in the fellowship of love has been sadly lacking among the followers of Christ. Particularly in the liturgy and the sacraments, the Christian must be open to share in the all-embracing love of God.

The essays emphasize, even to the point of repetition, the openness of the Christian message to all different cultures and thought patterns. Häring does not explore particular applications, but the German Redemptorist points out that Christianity cannot be restricted to Roman, European, or Western culture and thought patterns. Häring exhibits a delicate sense of balance in the tension between tradition and accommodation to the true spirit of the times. If anything, Häring errs occasionally by an over-simplistic view of the past: a rather romantic view of agrarian society; an over-idealization of the large family; an uncritical evaluation of St. Alphonsus; an idyllic picture of the religious atmosphere of an earlier Western society.

The sociologist in Häring comes to the fore in his plea for an openness to the situation in which modern Christianity finds itself. Häring stresses a theological awareness of the communitarian and cosmic aspects of salvation, as well as a sociological awareness of the importance of *milieu* and environment; such a concept of Christianity avoids the pitfalls of a purely individualistic religion, which is so inadequate in the face of the solidarity of sin. The vigilant disciples of Christ are always open to learn from others. Christians, for example, should learn from Marxists the need of human solidarity and the salvific meaning of the world in which we live.

This Time of Salvation does not pretend to be a Catholic response to the "New Morality," a theological consideration of life in the secular city, or a discussion of contemporary atheism. These very readable essays, some of which were written at least six years ago, seem to have the single purpose of expanding the horizons of Catholic life and thought. If the reader is disappointed in some of the essays, the primary reason may be that many of the ideas here presented have already been discussed and even put into practice in the Church. The Church, thanks to courageous spokesmen like Father Häring, has made great progress in the last few years. These essays do not break new theological ground, but do give a deeper understanding of the spirit of *aggiornamento* which marks the age of Vatican II.

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Alpha and Omega

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Viking, $5.95

IRVING MALIN

I am pleased that the publisher of this collection by the late Isaac Rosenfeld has entitled it *Alpha and Omega*. The phrase points the way to characteristic themes and styles.

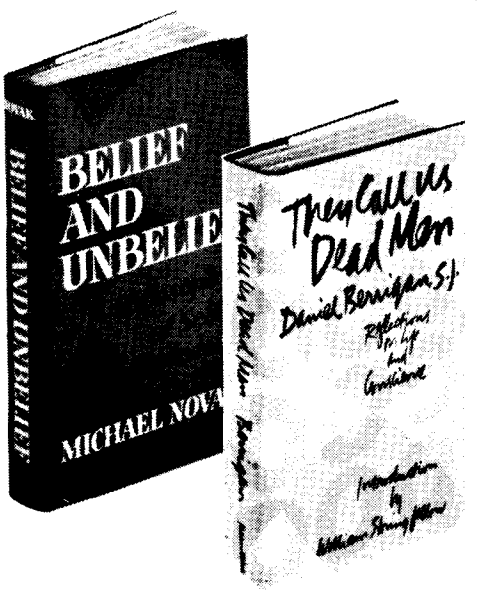
Rosenfeld deals with the primary conflicts between fathers and sons, head and heart, past and present. He is "a specialist in alienation"; he realizes that we are plagued by polarities, tensions, and irresolutions. He gives us "the dangling man." (The relationship of Rosenfeld and Bellow has not yet been studied in depth, but it is an important source of their very similar attitudes.) In "The Hand That Fed Me," for example, Joseph writes to Ellen, a Gentile girl, trying to explain his complex feelings toward her. He met her only *once*; the meeting, however, has assumed such metaphysical value that he cannot rest. He cannot see it clearly, preferring instead to "attach a whole morality" to it. He indulges in myth-making; he endows Ellen with holy (or unholy?) significance. She leads him out of exile—or so he thinks. Even this transcendence is dismissed with a shrug. Although Joseph surrenders her—as if she ever belonged to him—he is left without the promise of redemption. He remains "hungry."

Because Rosenfeld and his heroes are so divided, they search for transcendence. In such later stories as "George," the absolute is Reichian. George begins by remarking to the narrator that he is bored by "bodies"—he wants only to be "a pure intelligence"—and he promptly walks out of the window. He doesn't fall; he "settles" to the ground like a leaf—"incredibly light!" The narrator then explains the events which led to this odd departure. At a party without much character, everyone was having a good time, not communicating. George arrived and immediately understood that the guests were afraid of their own being; they did not yield to *the sense of life*. He was offended by this "frantic, dirty spirit, this misery they were all so full of that night." Foolish Gloria undressed, out of spite, and the men ogled her body. At this point George left.

Why should the narrator (and Rosenfeld) spend so much time on a "trivial incident"—as much time as Joseph does on his meeting with Ellen? George emerges as a neurotic saint—like Reich himself?—because he recognizes the division of personality—and the dirtiness of flirting. He demonstrates, through his departure, that he can "rise" above these things—that, in a sense, he is full of cosmic energy. *He is ecstatic.* The only problem is that *we* are not so easily converted; we refuse to worship him because he is more (or less) than human. He is beyond our painful knowledge.

Not only does Rosenfeld move from alienation to transcendence in terms of characterization and philosophy—he changes literary style. "The Hand That

"What is a Christian?



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Fed Me" is deeply "personal" and "journalistic." It contains *flashes* of insight; it moves erratically and unexpectedly—like life itself. In "George" and "King Solomon" Rosenfeld uses the parable: personalities do not change; time remains still; and details become abstract. The new style somewhat resembles that of Salinger's "home movies." It irritates us when we try to evaluate it because it is determinedly non-dramatic. In his desire to get closer to the first and last things, Rosenfeld "purifies" them, but even as he does so, he manages to create strange new life. His sense of irony rarely deserts him; it helps to keep his transcendent fiction down to earth.

This collection contains enough remarkable stories—I have discussed only two of the best—to make us recognize the loss we suffered when Rosenfeld died at the age of thirty eight.

The Mission

HANS HABE

Coward McMann, $6

EMILE CAPOUYA

In 1938, President Roosevelt called a conference of thirty-two nations at Evian-les-Bains to consider what might be done to save the Jews of Germany and Austria from mass imprisonment and murder. Through an envoy, Germany made unofficial representations to the conference, offering to sell 40,000 Jews at so much a head. The conferees wanted no Jews, particularly if they cost money. As the sessions were drawing near their end, in a *coup de thèâtre* the representative of the United States disclosed that his country was willing to admit as many Jews as all the other countries together might agree to accept. That sporting offer was not taken up. Instead, the assembled nations arranged to establish a permanent commission on refugee affairs in London, and called it quits.

Hans Habe covered the Evian conference as a journalist, and there met the luckless man whom the Germans had chosen as their messenger. In *The Mission*, which is fictionalized history, that man appears as Heinrich von Benda, a distinguished Viennese doctor. The fact that he is himself a Jew, with a wife and child who are being held as hostages in Austria, makes even more hateful his position as go-between in the attempted sale of human beings. If the lot of 40,000 are not disposed of, the Germans promise to imprison an equal number from among those Jews who are still at liberty. And they hint that if the deal does go through, they may be inclined to have successive clearance-sales, dumping all their Jews on the world market.

The commercial term for the goods the Germans were offering in 1938 is distressed merchandise. Each of the nations at the conference had a good reason for not investing. One was interested in maintaining unchanged the ethnic character of its population, one had a high unemployment rate, one had "too many intellectuals," one was just anti-Semitic. It's a treat to hear all this in diplomatic language, and Hans Habe seems to have drawn on the records of the conference to help him recapture the fine flavor of the hand-washing that went on there.

In defense of the conferees, it must be said that they had very little information about the extent of the brutalities that the Nazis were committing and contemplating. In defense of the victims, of eternally victimized mankind, it must be said that reality is a language that men forget as fast as they learn it. All a government has to do is to circulate a few plausible labels—preventive detention, re-settlement, re-education, peaceful penetration, strategic hamlets—and each such label provides men of good will with a brand-new intellectual virginity. They may have known no later than last week that those rubrics mean torture and death, but this week starts with a clean slate.

The lessons that we persist in not learning have always been the ground of imaginative literature, but *The Mission* is much more impressive as a historical document than as a work of fiction. The journalist's gifts are very different from those of the novelist. The first contemplates the flux, and then reports it as a series of ordered events; the other broods on a face, and invents a history, a world, to explain it. Hans Habe is obviously much more at home in the world of public facts than in the personal world, and it shows in his language, for the abstract jargon that is perfectly appropriate to our public business turns to sentimental stereotype when it tries to deal with our inner lives. That is not quite fair to the book—I am exaggerating to make a point—but it is still true that the novel is interesting insofar as it reports how the Germans offered us all an option on the lives of our fellowmen, and how, the market being low, we declined to buy.

The Crusades

ZOÉ OLDENBOURG

Pantheon, $6.95

ROBERT W. HANNING

When Pope Urban II, at the Council of Clermont in 1095, exhorted European Christendom to undertake a holy war against the Turks in Asia Minor, the ultimate goal of which would be to liberate Jerusalem, he was probably most concerned to inspire Europe's aristocracy with his vision of a Christian society purified, restructured, and united under papal leadership. The result of his impassioned plea was neither a purer nor more unified Europe, however, but rather one dangerously intoxicated by the idea of conquering the world for Christ.

This mesmeric power of the Crusading ideal persists even today, although it now stimulates scholarly research and debate where once it prompted rulers and soldiers to deeds of great heroism and even greater barbarity. It has induced Zoé Oldenbourg to write a popular but ambitious history of the first three Crusades (1095-1192) and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187) which clearly reveals the worth and the dangers of the Crusades as a subject for historians' labors.

Mme. Oldenbourg approaches her task primarily from a political and mil-

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itary perspective, all the while attempting to reveal what she calls the "human aspect" of the invasion and consequent colonization of Syria by the Franks (as the Crusaders were collectively known to their enemies). Certain conclusions emerge with admirable force and clarity thanks to her method and knowledge, e.g., that the ultimate failure of the Crusade as a cooperative Christian enterprise resulted ironically from one of the chief causes of its initial success: the existence in feudal society of a large body of unlanded, impoverished younger sons and petty vassals. These men, committed to the warrior ideal of the feudal aristocracy (an ideal Mme. Oldenbourg eloquently anatomizes), swelled the ranks of the Crusading armies; but once they reached Syria and carved out fiefs for themselves, many became primarily concerned with the survival of their new estates, even at the cost of coexistence with the infidel and intrigue against neighboring Frankish barons.

Comparable success eludes Mme. Oldenbourg, however, in her attempt to make the Frankish and Islamic leaders come alive as human beings involved in an immensely trying struggle over the rich and sacred oases of a mercilessly inhospitable desert land. For a novelist, she shows little ability to characterize effectively either through trenchant analyses of personality or by isolating crucial and symbolic actions. The result of this failing is that her accounts of the endless maneuvers of Frank against Turk (or against other Frank, or eastern Christian, or all three simultaneously) often take on some of the parched and monotonous character of their geographical setting.

Mme. Oldenbourg's enthusiasm for the medieval world betrays her when she seeks to place the origin and progress of the Crusading ideal within their social and cultural context. She allows too much extraneous and sometimes self-contradictory material about "medieval man," his life and ideals, to compete for our attention with the really important contextual material she has gathered. What I most miss in her first chapter is a clear explanation of the "two cultures" of the early medieval period and how they interacted at the Crusade's moment of inception. The Latin, clerical culture of this era, preserving in an official, international language the legacy of the early Church and of classical civilization, coexisted and commingled with the secular, vernacular, and primarily oral culture of a largely illiterate aristocracy, whose traditions and conventions descended from the barbarian nations which succeeded Rome as the masters of Europe.

In the late eleventh century both cultures had become extremely self-conscious, as can be seen from the papal programs for the reform of Christendom, and from the heroic, feudal vision of the earliest *chansons de geste*, celebrating the loyalty of a baron to his (secular) liege lord and to the ideal of personal valor. The problem for the papacy was to find a place for itself and the institutional Church atop the in-

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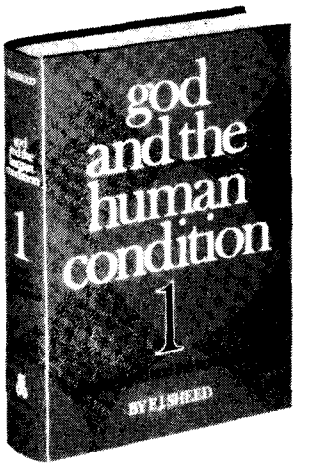

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creasingly articulated feudal hierarchy of the European aristocracy. The preaching of the Crusade, with its ideals of Christian heroism and loyalty to a feudal God who commanded through the Pope, represented an attempt to solve that problem.

Mme. Oldenbourg's book reveals the grandeur and ultimate failure of the solution, but her wealth of material would dazzle us more had she exercised a more rigorous stewardship over it.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 601)

pire in constant danger of persecution. These men did not want to offend Roman power. While these men could not conceal the fact that death upon the cross was a Roman sentence reserved for the most offensive crimes and for slaves and despised foreigners, they could—and did—portray Pilate as desiring to be gracious, with the Jewish mob calling for the death of Jesus. . . .

The problem of what to do with New Testament "facts" that do arouse the masses is a problem that Christians alone must face. RABBI GERALD ENGEL

"Vicious and Libelous"

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: Neither charity nor honesty is to be found in your vicious and libelous characterization of the new National chairman of the Communist Party, Henry Winston ("Communists in Convention, by Myron Feinsilber, July 22). Mr. Winston lost his sight in Terre Haute federal prison as a political prisoner (victim of the odious Smith Act) due to the refusal of prison authorities to assist him *in time to save* his sight, and *not* because he refused an operation. It was this criminal act and world-wide protests around it which pricking the conscience of President Kennedy led to Mr. Winston's release in 1961.

Nor was Mr. Feinsilber's "story" on the Communist Party convention as it related to me any more accurate. I did not state that I had left the Church only after *one* year in a seminary. In response to questions about my religious backing I answered I had studied for the priesthood for 5 years and was in simple vows (duly and canonically dispensed by the Holy See) when I left the monastery where I had been studying. I also said that because of fundamental theological differences with the Church I had left the Church several years later.

My comments on the Catholic-Communist dialogue and cooperation were not attributed to Pope John's *Pacem in Terris* by me alone. I pointed out that it was the opinion of irreproachable Catholic thinkers and scholars that paragraphs 158 through 160 of *Pacem in Terris* were intended by Pope John to refer to Marxists in general and Communists in particular. This is the view of the French Franciscan theologian Father Herve Chaigne, O.F.M., in his article in *Freres du Monde* (#3-4, 1963) and of no less an authority than Paul VI in paragraph 109 of *Ecclesiam Suam* (despite the slight backtracking done by Paul in this encyclical).

Commonweal this Fall

AS A NATIONAL journal of opinion concerned with public affairs, literature and the arts, Commonweal embodies both substance and variety. It focuses attention on Vietnam and North-South, as well as East-West, tensions, civil rights and the war on poverty, the coming American elections, implementation of the Council, ecumenism and freedom in the Church, artistic insights and creative writing—to cite only a few of its current interests.

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I also quoted Teilhard de Chardin (his essay "Faith in Man," *Future of Man*, Harper & Row, pp. 191-192) on the necessary convergence of the two great streams of humanism, the Christian and the Marxist, if man is to have a future. Yet none of this came through—only a few cute cliches like "no longer a Catholic bad or good." I wonder how the British *Slant* would have played it—or *Ramparts* for that matter?

There was no *substantive* analysis of the Convention, its work, its resolutions, its orientation—nor of the active role of Communists in all movements. And there was also no analysis of even the areas commented on by your glib reporter. Always references to Party membership being down to 12,000 (still the largest force on the political left!). Irrelevant—yet always having to be discussed; dead—yet always the concern of the power structure, political analysts and the press! Well, we are between 12,000 and 15,000 in our membership, but seven years ago at the convention we were down to 7,500!

No influence—only 6% of the vote for tax assessor in Los Angeles County polled by Communist candidate Dorothy Healey. Yet she was one of *two* protest candidates in a field of *four* (not three) candidates and came in third (ahead of the non-Communist protest candidate) . . . clearly hers was a vote for a *Communist* in one county and city—in Yorty's L.A. after 20 years of cold war and McCarthy hysteria in a campaign manned mainly by non-Communist young radicals.

The Youth Resolution "For A Life With A Purpose" "name-called instead of argued"—with no substantive analysis of the document and with snide remarks about Bettina Aptheker—the Party analysis of the currents among youth was dismissed. Well, I want to see *documented evidence* that it "name-called" rather than analyzed or argued.

I am always perplexed by the American "newsman's" penchant for being concerned about civil liberties in Eastern Europe and never about their own backyard. And assuming too that Communists are not concerned! Well, here too your "analyst" follows the pattern rather than showing critical independent thinking. Sinyavsky and Daniel, did, as Joe North indicated, at times engage in anti-Soviet writing. But as North noted—and Feinsilber ignored—we do not believe that their acts merit being treated as criminals or imprisoned. To imprison dissenters anywhere is despicable. To persecute or harass writers is never laudable—but Mr. Feinsilber, what about U.S. writer Ralph Ginzberg in jail in this country because his journal offended the Victorian morals of some Americans. Or the legal attempts by a Roman Catholic Archdiocesan official in Chicago to force off the air the controversial Jerry Williams program because some things upset him! Look to your own houses, just friends. Or as someone once said "remove the beam in your own eye before being concerned about the speck in your brother's."

One last point—I've been in the New Left for 5 or 6 years now—in SDS, DuBois, peace, civil rights, *Studies on the Left* associate editor, even YCS, etc.—and I know a hell of a lot of new leftists to whom and for whom Dialectics *do count* and Communists *are relevant*.

One expects from COMMONWEAL penetrating, critical and controversial analysis, *not* the clever polish of a phrase-turning and twisting white, cold war "liberal journalist." I hope you take a second look, and if motivated by Christian love, honesty and an open mind you might find a far different picture of the Communist Party and Convention than that sold you by Feinsilber.

JAMES A. KENNEDY

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